THE COLORS

●822 The differentiation of colors has been studied in eleven patterns for which we give the list of Indian terms below.

Groups a and b present common characteristics. They distinguish white, black, red, blue, and put yellow and green in a single category. (1) However, while group a extends that assimilation

[193 197 171]

1. The term which designates green and yellow affects the singular form of a reduplicative plural. This morphological aspect is found again in Ŝibŝa: Thus in Bribri, green = tspa-tspa, yellow = kŏlo-kŏlo; in Guatuso, yellow = mari-mari; in Rama, yellow = nugnugna, green blue = nrinnrinma. (Cf. Lehmann, loc. cit., I, p. 333, 394, 434, 435).

to yellow ocher, group b stops at clear yellow and classes yellow ocher with burnt sienna in the same category, designated by the term of dialect a1 for "black." (2) Group c distributes the colors in a very

[826]

2. In accord with the anthropological judgment of the Indians who do not distinguish themselves from the "whites" as "yellow," but as the "colored" from the "clear":

(56) ŋãi ʔaniena tãikedniena (b1)
You are fair (clear), I am dark.

different way: one same category unites the reds and the yellows (which furthermore suggests the scale of the tincture of urucu), while the blues are attached to green and black.

The most esteemed colors are white and black, undoubtedly because these are the colors of the ornaments made from pearly fragments of river shells and from the dark nuts of the palm tree. Then comes red, then yellow. Green and blue are not much liked. [117]

822 192

Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
White	ahẽndesu	ahẽndesu	dẽ ẽnde	pãte
Black	ŝundne	atũũdisu	ŋãre, dẽdẽne	tapũte

continued

822 192

Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
Vermilion red	ehedne-kenesu	ahe²en-dutu	e²edne	ʂereʂeraɨnte natope (= urucu)
Carmine red	ehẽndutu	aeh²endutu	e²edne	ʂeraɨnte, natope
Cobalt blue	---	asuɨsuɨendisu	ʂiʂuɨ'dna	tapũ'te, tikualẽ'nte
Ultramarine blue	---	asuisuɨendutu	ʂiʂuɨ'dna	tapũ'te, tikualẽ'nte
Veronese green	ʂidiʂɨ'de	asetesedeẽn-dutu	ʂedeʂededne	pasĩ'nte
Emerald green	ʂideʂi-dedne	asetesede²-endutu	ʂedeʂe-dedne	pasinte, kualẽnte
Strontian yellow	ʂideʂi-dedne	asetesede²-endutu	ʂedeʂe-dedne	natopeʂeraɨnte, kualẽnte
Yellow ocher	ʂideʂi-dedne	asetesede²-endutu	hũndne	ʂeraɨnte
Burnt sienna	ʂideʂi-dedne	asetesede²-endutu	hũndne	natopeʂeraɨnte

KNOWLEDGE RELATIVE TO THE UNIVERSE

821 The Nambikwara of the eastern group call the stars ikitasu, atasu (supernatural animal) or iuinitu atasu; those of the central and southern group call them tãgɔre (classifying: -gɔre, that which hangs, decorates, trembles) and distinguish between "little stars," (tãgɔniuɨ'kɔre, -niuɨ'kɔre being a diminutive) and "planets" (tãgɔrare; classificatory: -are, full, swelled, liquid). No information could be gathered concerning the constellations. The sun is [118] called otianɨ'kisu, uterɨ'tisu (a 1/2), ũnde (b 1/2), iɔta (c); the moon ɨ'ru, irekisu (a 1/2), helnde, heltɔnde (b 1/2), hiɨ'ta (c), and they distinguish:

The full moon: araditatinoa (a1), ejedamniene (b1) ipaɨkolota (c);

The moon in its (first or last) quarter: ãgiai²ɨnoa (a1), ejemirakende (b1), ipaɨkolo (c).

805 The year is divided into two periods: the rains (mihɨ'rage, b1), lasting approximately five months, and the dry season (kɔmirige,

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

particular form of their own. Death is identified with these spirits. Men's souls are believed to be reincarnated as jaguars, whereas women's and children's souls are taken away by wind and thunder, never to return.

The highest being is the Thunder, with which any man, though usually a shaman, may have personal contact through revelations and visions. Women, however, except when very old, and children are deprived of these privileges. Women are also forbidden, under pain of death, to see the sacred flageolets (see Musical Instruments, p. 368) played at the ceremonies marking the beginning and the end of the dry season.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

The shaman is sometimes distinct from—but more frequently identified with—the political chief. He is distinguished by having the privilege of polygyny, playing the leading role in ceremonial life, and possessing special supernatural powers. He treats patients by sucking out the disease or by fighting it with small ritual arrows called "thunder-arrows."

In addition to magical cures, the *Nambicuara* treat sickness with numerous medicinal plants, which are used externally or internally according to the disease. For eye infection, which is very frequent, they apply the infusion of a special bark with the help of a container made of leaves.

FOLKLORE, LORE, AND LEARNING

The only legend recorded by Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b) is a flood tale relating the destruction of human life and its re-creation through several incestuous marriages between the offspring of an old woman, who was the only being who escaped the disaster.

The only basic numbers used for counting are one and two, but the natives can reckon higher figures by combining these.

Colors are classified differently according to the dialects. The *Eastern, Central, Southern,* and *Western Nambicuara* agree in putting yellow and green in the same category, whereas the *Northern* group identify red and yellow, and class green, blue, and black together.

Some *Nambicuara* groups call stars by the same name which designates the spirits. The year is divided into two seasons and an undetermined number of lunar months. The day includes six main stages, each based on the position of the sun. Space is divided into two sections that are perpendicular to each other, one corresponding to the apparent movement of the sun and the other to the direction of the main waterways.

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000 the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

802 The concept of number is well under way among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. In their expressive manner, they count on their fingers and say "Dêra" for each unit.

802 201 When they have used up the fingers of both hands, if the number demands it, they lift a foot, repeating the same word, and then go on to the other foot.

A Tagnani chief who wanted to say that his people were already near and were bringing us manioc, maize, etc., in many baskets, having counted on all his fingers and toes, tapped the hands and feet of others present, repeating all the while, "Dêra, dêra, dêra" (this, this, this).

[805] To count the days, either past or future, which stand between them and a certain place, they raise their right hand to the face, rest their head on the palm, close their eyes, and produce a loud snore for every night to be counted.

822 The concepts of shape and area are also defined among them. The Cocozu call a circle irengçú, a triangle nendzu. Perhaps these words are merely names of animals or objects extended to cover these figures, which they trace accurately.

[Fig. 46]

821 They distinguish east and west. They indicate the approximate time of day by pointing out the place where the sun will stand on the horizon [260] at that particular hour. They do not seem to distinguish among constellations; they always gave the same name to any star we pointed out to them. The Tagnani indiscriminately named tangrê the Belt in the Orion constellation which they drew on the ground, as well as the largest stars in this exceptionally beautiful cluster (Rigel, Betelgeuse and Belatrix). The total eclipse of the sun which was clearly noticeable in the Serra do Norte on October 10, 1912, made no impression whatever on the Nambicuara.

000 As to the biological concepts they may perchance have gathered, we cannot yet speak about them. What we were able to ascertain did not satisfy us.

[Fig. 47]

197 The Indians of the Serra do Norte speak distinct but related dialects which are mutually intelligible.

Anunze Nambicuara Word List (Cont'd)

192 scraper of capybara tooth -- Iakizũ.
medicine [remédio] -- Inekiaçũ.
armadillo -- Nunzê.
nine-banded armadillo [Dasypus novemeinetus] -- Hatdenandzũ.
earth -- Inozê.
tripe (general term for intestines)-- Aiokzê.
fire -- Anizê.
forehead -- Uaenakezê.
man -- Idnizê.
alligator -- Nuntaçũ.
knee -- Uaguididanzê.
tongue -- Uaileherũ.
line [twine?] -- Kuituiçũ.
nail -- Uaitnakezê.
navel -- Uaikedanzê.
urucu -- Duhiazê.
deer -- Iatarũ.
abdomen -- Uatiçũ.

Colors

[322] yellow -- Katetiçũ.
blue -- Iadneaçũ.
white -- Kuidiçũ.
black -- Kaikiducũ.
black (pitch) -- Iadeneazũ.
green -- Cedecededenoçũ.
red -- Duhiaçũ.

[353]

Words Collected by Lt. A. Pyreneus de Souza

achopé bee -- Arazi.
borá regina bee -- Kaiudêzê.
mandaguari-vermelho bee -- Iuzê.
manduri bee -- Kloarizê.
tatá bee -- Arizê.
tibuna bee -- Tararê.
pumpkin (ours) -- Aria-tecê.
macaw -- Aranzê.
araticum [shrub of Annona genus] -- Ararê.
meat -- Uanozê.
coatá [spider monkey] -- Kadozê.
heron -- Mokarê.
jennet -- Kuruaiudezê.
pacu [small fresh-water fish] -- Mambire.
castiçal palm tree -- Kaicê.
parakeet -- Kakaitezê.
piau [large minnow] -- Akurizê.
painted -- Uanuncê.
dove -- Tuizê.
pig -- Iakizê.